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Steven Alexander Niedbala
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BUILDING THE POST-INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY:
NEW URBANIST DEVELOPMENT IN PITTSBURGH, PA

Steven Alexander Niedbala

Art History

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Introduction

The architectural theorist Charles Jencks dates the death of modernism to the minute: “July 15, 1972 at 3:32 p.m.” At this time, the maligned Pruitt-Igoe housing project in St. Louis, Missouri faced demolition. For Jencks, the destruction of Pruitt-Igoe signifies the moment when the public firmly rejected the “purist language” of modernism. The concrete high rises, notorious for poor living conditions and high crime rates, illustrated how the total program of modernism failed to accommodate the diverse “architectural codes” of the public.¹ The widely touted symbolism of the demolition was not lost on the city of Pittsburgh, which made the 2005 destruction of a series of high-rise housing projects in the neighborhood of East Liberty a public event. City officials flung paintballs at the East Mall high rise in a vibrant outdoors spectacle.² The event made the claims of the postwar development ethos overwhelmingly obvious. No longer would the city raze neighborhoods in order to realize a total plan for the city, an approach that fueled controversy during the construction of the high rises in the 1960s. Under the new plan for renewal, the vision for East Liberty would seem to conform to the interests of the neighborhood’s inhabitants. Citizens would freely participate in the destruction of their own homes.

The plan for East Liberty reflected a new emphasis on community in urban planning. The design team behind a 1999 prospectus for redevelopment promised to undo

¹ Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977), 9.

² Violet Law, “At Liberty to Speak,” *Pittsburgh City Paper*, 2007, accessed January 25, 2013, <http://www.pghcitypaper.com/pittsburgh/at-liberty-to-speak/Content?oid=1339275>.

the errors of modernist planners through a building program that would “recreat[e] the person-friendly quality of a traditional neighborhood.”³ This revival of the traditional urban community began after Pittsburgh emerged as a capital in the postindustrial economy. According to a 2009 article in *The New York Times*, the former industrial city survived the collapse of the American steel industry to become a center for “technology research” and “[e]ntrepreneurship.”⁴ While the retrogressive tendencies of urban development may seem a reaction to this phenomenon, the community-level approach to planning befits the economic and social transformation of the city in the postindustrial era. The renewal program in East Liberty demonstrates how a systematization of urban diversity serves a citywide plan for economic development. While planners appeal to the “rich cultural history” of East Liberty, the new development in the neighborhood conforms more to the established aesthetic of the postindustrial community than the regional context.⁵

The first part will explain the concept of community in the context of postindustrial theory. I will analyze the narrative of postindustrialism to argue that this concept of community constitutes not a reaction to a unique set of historical circumstances but rather a strategical shift in capitalist development. In the second part, I will describe how the perceived failure of architectural modernism inspired the

³ East Liberty Development, Inc., “1999 Community Plan: A Vision for East Liberty,” *East Liberty Post*, 1999, <http://www.eastliberty.org/community-planning/plans-and-studies/1999-community-plan-a-vision-for-east-liberty>.

⁴ David Streitfield, “For Pittsburgh, There’s Life After Steel,” *New York Times*, January 7, 2009, accessed January 11, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/08/business/economy/08collapse.html?pagewanted=all>.

⁵ East Liberty Development, Inc., “1999.”

theorization of the city as a phenomenological entity. I will describe how this conception of the city inspired efforts to systematize urban diversity through the development of a visual linguistics. The urban planning movement known as New Urbanism, I will argue, developed a successful systematization of diversity through an appeal to communitarian sentiment. The final part will discuss how the economic elite of Pittsburgh utilized postindustrial ideology to enact long-desired changes in the region's socioeconomic structure. Through an examination of commercial development and urban renewal in the late twentieth century, I will argue that New Urbanism provided a means of realizing the predictions of postindustrial theory and thus the directives of local economic interests. I aim to dispel the misconception that Pittsburgh and other industrial centers became postindustrial purely through economic inevitability or "natural" social development; my analysis will illustrate how the economic elite of these cities initiated this transition through an ideological and architectural campaign centered around the postindustrial concept of community.

Theory: The Postindustrial Community

In order to understand the transformation of the city in the late twentieth century, one must grasp the new concept of the city and society forwarded by the school of postindustrialism and its detractors. The notion that the pace of economic and social activity in the late twentieth century had exceeded the cognitive abilities of man granted a new significance to the role of space and community in the formation of individual

identity. As this examination of postindustrial theory will prove, the subsequent call for a revival of regionalism does not constitute a reaction to an unprecedented acceleration of development; rather, a reactionary conception of the community is the necessary complement to the structure of the capitalist economy in the late twentieth century.

Postindustrial theory describes the social and economic implications of technological advancement in the postwar era. According to the influential sociologist Daniel Bell, the postindustrial era sees the end of “mechanically paced” industrial society and the emergence of a global economic system governed by the transfer of information. As Bell writes in his 1973 text *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*, the expansion of a “large-scale investment banking system and the emergence of the corporation” have led to the gradual disappearance of heavy industry in developed capitalist economies.⁶ The “centrality of theoretical knowledge” in the new society leads to the breakdown of the rigid class structure of early industrial society. In the postindustrial epoch, “rational judgment” replaces “politics” as a new “middle class of managers, technical employees... [and] white collar workers” become the foundation of the emergent capitalist world system.⁷

Bell emphasizes the significance of community under the new social paradigm of postindustrial society. While the global expansion of radio, television and other mediatic systems allow for the “increased participation” of the public in social decisions, “collective regulation and a greater degree of coercion” are necessary for “effective

⁶ Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: a Venture in Social Forecasting* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 126-128.

⁷ Ibid 76-77.

communal action.”⁸ The postindustrial community must reach a consensus that can no longer be defined as the “sum total of individual decisions, which, when aggregated, end up as nightmares.”⁹ In addition, the community serves as a shelter for the individual amid the “incessant ‘messages’” of new media systems.¹⁰ As modern communication systems confuse the traditional conception of distance, the community serves as a means of creating a “‘human scale’ in mass society.”¹¹ The community thus acts as a mediator between the individual and the new economic system. While the rigid “organizational” mode of early industrial society could only account for “economic goods,” postindustrial society can account for the “imponderable such as meeting friends [and] satisfaction in work” by acting at the scale of community.¹² In turn, the community shelters the individual from the chaotic pace of the new global society, which Bell deems too complex to be grasped by the public.

Analyses of postmodern culture stress the destabilizing effects of postindustrial society on individual identity. The Marxist critic David Harvey offers a characteristic criticism of postmodernism. According to Harvey, modernist philosophy confronted the fragmentation of early industrial society through the formation of “metanarratives,” or tautological narratives that explained “chaos” as a necessary stage before the inevitable triumph of a social or economic ideal in the future.¹³ Postmodernism spurns the totalistic

⁸ Bell, *Coming*, 469-475.

⁹ Ibid 128.

¹⁰ Ibid 317.

¹¹ Ibid 319.

¹² Ibid 277-279.

¹³ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1989), 11-13.

nature of such explanations and embraces fragmentation as an expression of “human nature.”¹⁴ According to Harvey, one can no longer assume the continuity of space, time or individual identity, and relativism reduces all “knowledge and meaning” to a “rubble of signifiers.”¹⁵

Unlike Bell, Harvey and other Marxist critics do not identify postindustrial culture as the inevitable result of postwar technological development.¹⁶ The literary critic Fredric Jameson suggests that the fragmentation of modernist totalities performs a vital function in the development of the capitalist world system. Jameson characterizes postmodern culture as “pastiche,” a pervasive “image reality...[that] becomes autonomous and floats above reality.”¹⁷ The autonomy of representation reflects the abstraction of economic activity into information exchange and trade products. Consistent with the historical development of capitalism, this process of abstraction shields the physical substructure of production from public perception. In the postindustrial era, this process of alienation is driven to the extent that the individual can no longer orient himself on a basic level. As Jameson claims, the individual becomes lost in a postmodernist “hyperspace” that transcends “the capacities of the individual human body to locate itself, to organize its

¹⁴ Harvey, *Condition*, 11-13.

¹⁵ Ibid 350.

¹⁶ The work of the French literary theorist Jean-Francois Lyotard serves as a significant influence upon the leftist critique of postmodernism. While I have cited works by Jameson and Harvey due to their accessible prose, Lyotard’s 1979 book *The Postmodern Condition* first characterized postmodernism as a collapse of “metanarratives.” However, Lyotard claims that postmodernism offers an alternate source of legitimation in the “autonomy of interlocutors involved in ethical, social, and political praxis.” Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 39-40.

¹⁷ Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 277.

immediate surroundings perceptually, and cognitively to map its position in a mappable external world.”¹⁸

The phenomena of disorientation described by Harvey and Jameson resonates in neoliberal accounts of the postindustrial era. Bell describes the failure of the “temple of science to replace the “transcendent ethic” and “rooted moral belief system” that collapse with the arrival of the postindustrial era.¹⁹ The writer Alvin Toffler suggests that the speed of innovation in the postindustrial era threatens to overwhelm the cognitive capacities of the human mind. The individual may fall into “future shock,” a state of confusion that would render him unable to cope with the pace of contemporary society.²⁰ The concern that postindustrial society threatens the psychological capacities of the individual is a consistent theme among leftist and neoliberal analyses of the era.

Addressing this perceived threat to the human psyche, leftist criticisms of postwar capitalism echo Bell’s call for a reestablishment of human scale in postindustrial society. Postindustrial theorists claim that the recovery of a phenomenological unity between man and his surroundings may serve as a palliative for the destabilizing effects of postindustrial culture. Toffler proposes the construction of “enclaves of the past,” preserved historical communities in which “people faced with future shock can escape the pressures of overstimulation for weeks, months, even years if they choose.”²¹ Jameson suggests that one may orient himself in postmodern hyperspace through a

¹⁸ Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 44.

¹⁹ Bell, *Coming*, 477-480.

²⁰ Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (New York: Bantam Books, 1971), 161-167.

²¹ *Ibid* 390-391.

process of cognitive “mapping.” As Jameson explains, “mapping” describes a process by which one reflects upon his position in the structure of the global capitalist system. Though limited to an “individual subject,” Jameson asserts that this exercise allows one to form a “situational representation...[of] that vaster and unrepresentable reality.”²² Like Bell and Toffler, Jameson suggests that one can cope with the complexity of postindustrial society only through the mediation of the immediate environment.

The desire to recover a mythic unity between man and his environment is a recurrent theme in Western thought. In the late nineteenth century, social critics identified phenomena of alienation and homelessness in nascent industrial society. In the 1867 analysis *Capital*, Karl Marx spoke of the abstraction of social relations under capitalist society. Due to the translation of labor into commodity-values, Marx states, “the social relations between...private labours...do not appear as direct social relations between persons in their work, but rather as material [*dinglich*] relations between persons and social relations between things.”²³ As the Marxist critic Terry Eagleton notes, Marx’s critique describes how a “linguistically productive animal...[e]xtends its body into a web of abstractions which then violate its own sensuous nature.”²⁴ In the early twentieth century, the notion that capitalist development was opposed to natural social relations informed critiques of industrialization. In the 1917 lecture “Science as a Vocation,” the sociologist Max Weber described how scientific progress supplanted a belief in “mysterious, incalculable powers” for the notion that one may “*master* all things by

²² Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 51-52.

²³ Karl Marx, *Capital: Volume 1*, trans. Ben Fowkes (Penguin Books: London, 1990), 165-166.

²⁴ Terry Eagleton, *The Ideology of the Aesthetic* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 199.

calculation.”²⁵ The Marxist narrative of disenchantment and alienation in industrial society reverberate in later analyses of the postindustrial epoch.

The horrors of the Second World War granted this line of critique a new relevance in postwar culture. As Theodor Adorno writes in his 1951 *Minima Moralia*, “life is dragged along on the triumphal automobile of the united statisticians” with the triumph of industry, and anything “that is not reified, cannot be counted and measured, ceases to exist.”²⁶ In this context, the nostalgia for an ideal community gained influence in sociology and critical theory. The work of the German philosopher Martin Heidegger became a particularly influential account of placelessness in industrial culture. Presented at the 1951 *Darmstädter Gespräche* on “Man and Space,” Heidegger’s essay “Building Dwelling Thinking” suggested that a conscientious practice of “dwelling” is necessary to mortal being.²⁷ As Heidegger explains in the essay, to “say that mortals *are* is to say that *in dwelling* they persist through spaces by virtue of their stay among things and locations.”²⁸ Like the later commentators of postindustrialism, Heidegger warns that the advance of industrialism compromises the relationship between man and his environment. Modern technology distances man from the environment to the extent that

²⁵ Max Weber, “The Meaning and Value of Scientific Disenchantment, ‘Progress,’ and Civilized Man’s Meaninglessness (From ‘Science as a Vocation),” trans. Hans H. Gerth, C. Wright Mills and Stephen Kalberg, in *Max Weber: Readings and Commentary on Modernity*, ed. Stephen Kalberg (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 322.

²⁶ Theodor Adorno, *Minima Moralia*, trans. E.F.N. Jephcott (London: Verso, 1978), 46-47.

²⁷ Jean-Louis Cohen, *The Future of Architecture Since 1889* (New York: Phaidon, 2012), 321.

²⁸ Martin Heidegger, “Building Dwelling Thinking,” in *Basic Writings*, ed. David Farrell Krell (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 335.

one can no longer truly “encounter...himself” in his surroundings.²⁹ Given that Heidegger issues his warning prior to the inauguration of the postindustrial era proper, one may suggest that the postindustrial concept of community does not constitute a reaction to an unprecedented set of circumstances but rather serves as a foundational myth for the theorization of postindustrialism itself. Postindustrial theory describes postwar society through a reconception of the modernist notion of placelessness. As Jean-Luc Nancy suggests, the revival of community in the postwar era originates in the modernist “desire to discover or rediscover a place of community...beyond subordination to technopolitical domination.”³⁰

The postindustrial theorization of placelessness is inadequate to describe the development of world capitalism in the postwar era. Postindustrial theorists suggest that the pace of innovation and development in the postwar era exceeds the cognitive abilities of man. This assumption implies that the development of technology and the functioning of the world economic system are no longer subject to human intervention. Alternately, one may consider how a new scale of capitalist intervention accounts for the apparent phenomena of disorientation. The Marxist theorist Ernest Mandel argues that capitalism expands to exert influence upon new facets of culture and society in the postwar era. He

²⁹ Martin Heidegger, “The Question Concerning Technology,” 1950, accessed January 13, 2013, <http://72.52.202.216/~fenderse/Technology.html>. One should note that this reading of Heidegger’s writings reflects the interpretation of later postmodern theorists, particularly in the realm of architecture. In “The Question Concerning Technology,” Heidegger defines “technology” in relation to the Greek word *techne*; in this sense, technology “does not lie at all in making and manipulating nor in the using of means, but rather in the...way of revealing” a truth essential to being. The complexity of contemporary technology interrupts this discovery of truth as the process of “revealing never simply comes to an end.”

³⁰ Jean-Luc Nancy, *The Inoperative Community*, trans. Peter Connor, Lisa Garbus, Michael Holland and Simona Sawney (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 1.

objects to the term “postindustrial,” stating that the postwar era sees the development of “*general universal industrialization* for the first time in history.”³¹ Mandel elaborates:

Mechanization, standardization, over-specialization and parcellization of labour, which in the past determined only the realm of commodity production in actual industry, now penetrate into all sectors of social life. It is a characteristic of late capitalism that agriculture is step by step becoming just as industrialized as industry, the sphere of circulation just as much as the sphere of production, and recreation just as much as the organization of work.³²

While postindustrial theory describes postwar culture as the product of runaway modernization, Mandel’s analysis identifies a new scale of capitalist intervention under the surface phenomena of postwar culture. Following Mandel’s interpretation, one may discern several dimensions to the concept of community in the postindustrial era. In postindustrial theory, the myth of community serves as a palliative for fears of homelessness and dehumanization under the expanded scope of industrialization. The significance granted to the concept of community in postindustrial texts also evinces a strategical shift in the expansion of capitalism in the postwar era; concurrent with the continued expansion of global trade with the emergence of modern mediatic systems, domestic industry in developed capitalist nations advances beyond modernist

³¹ Ernest Mandel, *Late Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1978), 387.

³² Ibid 387.

standardization to inscribe itself in social life at the level of the community. However, the theoretical framework of postindustrial theory alone cannot account for the actualization of the postindustrial community in Pittsburgh and other former industrial centers. Architectural theory provides the necessary visualization of the postindustrial community in the postwar era.

The City as Image: the Aesthetics of Diversity in Postwar Architecture

The postwar “crisis” of urbanism informed the development of the postindustrial community in North America. During the war, urban theorists speculated upon a mass building program for peacetime. The popular vision of the postwar city was modeled after the aesthetics of European modernism. Proposals for development in “194X” forwarded a building style and scale that would take advantage of the technological and productive advances of wartime industry.³³ However, these proposals fell out of favor after the war ended. Consumer campaigns advanced a nostalgic return to “normalcy” and caricatured the alien futurism of 194X modernism; urban theorists such as Lewis Mumford condemned the “superficial sanitary decency and bare mechanical order” of modernist cities.³⁴ Furthermore, Cold War ideology identified the collectivism of European modernist plans with totalitarian communism. Consumer culture emphasized a strict division between “communist” collectivism and the individualism of postwar

³³ Jean-Louis Cohen, *Architecture in Uniform: Designing for the Second World War* (Paris: Editions Hazan, 2011), 372-375.

³⁴ Lewis Mumford, “The Disappearing City,” in *The Urban Prospect* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968): 109.

capitalist society.³⁵ In this context, architectural and urban theorists began to conceptualize the city as an image; the postindustrial city took shape as a phenomenological entity that would satisfy the need of the individual subject for a visually unique environment.³⁶

In the early 1960s, urban theorists began to examine the city as a phenomenological entity that developed through mass experience. While the modernist architect Le Corbusier addressed the “psycho-physiological needs” of the individual in his work, his plans depended upon the rational management of the physical environment and material resources.³⁷ In the plan for the utopian “radiant city,” Le Corbusier went as far as to outline a regimen of physical activity for the city’s inhabitants.³⁸ Kevin Lynch’s 1960 study *The Image of the City* suggests that urban planning be founded upon markedly different principles. Lynch does not explain how the city should satisfy the material needs of its populace; rather, he attempts to describe how the city may satisfy the human “need for identity and structure in [the] perceptual world.”³⁹ For Lynch, the problem of the city is one of “environmental imageability.”⁴⁰ The appearance of the city must offer distinct landmarks and boundaries for its inhabitants; in turn, the urban “observer” must learn

³⁵ Andrew M. Shanken, *194X: Architecture, Planning, and Consumer Culture on the American Home Front* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 181-195.

³⁶ The architectural historian Peter Gailson also notes the influence of postwar defense planning upon the form of the postindustrial city. According to Gailson, the decentralized planning of postwar urban development reflected the perceived vulnerability of concentrated urban centers to aerial bombardment. Peter Gailson, “War Against the Center,” *Grey Room* No. 4 (2001): 5-33, accessed March 11, 2013, <http://www.mitpressjournals.org/toc/grey/-/4>.

³⁷ Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City* (New York: Orion Press, 1967), 7.

³⁸ Ibid 66.

³⁹ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960), 10.

⁴⁰ Ibid 13.

how to “look at his city, to observe its manifold forms and how they mesh with each other.”⁴¹

Lynch illustrates this new conception of the city through a novel diagram of Boston (Figure 1). Dense patterning represents the real boundaries of the city’s districts; in addition, Lynch outlines the “soft” boundaries of each district with checked lines. These soft boundaries reflect the conflicting opinions of surveyed residents concerning the limits of each neighborhood. While complete homogeneity within each district leads to a sense of “disorganization,” Lynch suggests that planners better define districts through the establishment of a “thematic unit that contrasts with the rest of the city” in each area. The soft boundaries map the city in terms of these thematic units, which conflict with the established boundaries of the city. Lynch challenges planners to create perceptual barriers as definite as their material counterparts.⁴²

While Lynch established a pseudo-rationalistic foundation for the postindustrial city, the social critic Jane Jacobs described the development of the new urban environment as a populist struggle. Her 1961 book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* begins with an acerbic condemnation of modernism’s “planned order, [which is] achieved by ignoring or suppressing the real order that is struggling to exist and to be served.”⁴³ Jacobs echoes Bell’s analysis of technocracy as she proposes a planning methodology comparable to the “life sciences”:

⁴¹ Lynch, *Image*, 117.

⁴² Ibid 69-71.

⁴³ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage, 1961), 15.

Cities...like the life sciences, do not exhibit *one* problem in organized complexity, which if understood explains all. They can be analyzed into many such problems or segments, which...are also related with one another. The variables are many, but they are not helter-skelter; they are 'interrelated into an organic whole.'⁴⁴

Importantly, Jacobs suggests that the organic order of the city does not lie outside the scope of the plan. She proposes that planners surrender "literal visual control in cities" and instead provide "suggestions that help people make...order and sense...from what they see."⁴⁵ While Jacobs disavows the totalistic vision of modernism, she suggests that planners may replicate the organic diversity of the urban environment through an analysis of the city as a complex problem.

Architectural postmodernism approached this problem through the development of a visual linguistics. In *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*, the architectural historian Charles Jencks describes the problem of contemporary architecture in terms of divergent stylistic "codes." According to Jencks, architectural modernism fails to recognize the existence of "multiple [stylistic] codes, which may be in conflict across subcultures."⁴⁶ Postmodernism embraces the act of "communicating with the public" as the "central role" of architecture.⁴⁷ The postmodernist architect must "overcode" his work

⁴⁴ Jacobs, *Death*, 433.

⁴⁵ Ibid 378.

⁴⁶ Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977), 42.

⁴⁷ Ibid 6.

with a diverse range of visual “signs and metaphors” in order to communicate to a diverse set of “local codes.”⁴⁸ The apparent playfulness of architectural postmodernism would appear to diverge from the system of visual coding proposed by Kevin Lynch. However, the movement seeks to implement an aesthetic of diversity on a mass scale through a further systematization of visual codes. As Jencks suggests, postmodernism may employ the “sophisticated techniques of market research and production” in order to “mass-produce a variety of styles.”⁴⁹ The realization of postmodernism on a mass scale assumes an “interpersonal, shared response to metaphor” as defined by the emergent science of “social research and architectural semiotics.”⁵⁰

The conception of architecture as an act of communication necessitates the dissociation of aesthetics from political and social motives. As Jencks notes, the employment of vernacular design by postmodernism constitutes an attempt to “speak to...society and not necessarily to celebrate its mores.”⁵¹ Postmodernism may even utilize modernist aesthetics, but architects must ignore the political connotations associated with the style. The architect Colin Rowe claims that postmodernism offers the “enjoyment of utopian poetics without...the embarrassment of utopian politics.”⁵² This claim of

⁴⁸ Jencks, *Language*, 50.

⁴⁹ Ibid 5.

⁵⁰ Ibid 52.

⁵¹ Ibid 62-63.

⁵² Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, *Collage City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1979), 149. Notably, Colin Rowe dehistoricized the architecture of Le Corbusier in his landmark 1947 essay “The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa.” The essay outlines a highly formal comparison of Le Corbusier’s Villa Savoye with Palladio’s Villa Capra. Rowe’s ahistorical method of analysis echoes in the writings of Charles Jencks and other architectural postmodernists. See Colin Rowe, “The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa,” *Architectural Review* (March 1947), accessed March 11, 2013, <http://www.architectural-review.com/archive/1947-march-the-mathematics-of-the-ideal-villa-palladio-and-le-corbusier-compared-by-colin-rowe/8604100.article>.

neutrality evinces the ideological affinity between postmodern architecture and postindustrial theory. Specifically, the architectural historian Reinhold Martin notes the similarity between the postmodernist withdrawal from politics and the postindustrial concept of the “end of history.”⁵³ According to the neoliberal theorist Francis Fukuyama, the postindustrial era sees the end of “ideological struggles” as the collapse of the Soviet Union signals the “unabashed victory of economic and political liberalism.”⁵⁴ Instead of launching a criticism of alternate ideologies, Fukuyama argues that the ground for criticism itself has dissolved. Similarly, Jencks and his contemporaries deny the political implications of aesthetics by reducing architecture to an absolute principle of visual communication.

The rhetoric of the postindustrial community complemented the development of a visual linguistics. As the playfulness of early postmodernism faded, architectural theory began to echo the conception of the community as an enclave amid the mass disorientation of postindustrial society. The Italian architect Aldo Rossi became an influential figure in architectural theory with his quasi-Heideggerian analysis of the city. His book *The Architecture of the City* describes the city as a patchwork of “urban artifacts,” locales that have emotional and cultural resonance with the regional population.⁵⁵ Since these artifacts are rooted in collective memory, one may explain the structure of the city through “the natural tendencies of many groups dispersed throughout

⁵³ Reinhold Martin, *Utopia's Ghost: Architecture and Postmodernism, Again* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010), 27.

⁵⁴ Francis Fukuyama, “The End of History?” *Wes Jones*, 1989, accessed October 8, 2012, <http://www.wesjones.com/eoh.htm>.

⁵⁵ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982), 101.

the city.”⁵⁶ While Rossi writes in a cryptic tone, this statement suggests that the architect may be able to grasp the organic development of the city through an understanding of its social and historical character. In the 1980s, architectural theorists defined this phenomenological approach to urban planning with the terminology of postindustrial theory. The “critical regionalist” Kenneth Frampton insisted that Heidegger’s concept of the dwelling could save communities from the “ubiquitous ‘non-place’” of contemporary global society.⁵⁷ His fellow communitarian Philip Bess emphasized the need for architecture to “create new neighborhoods and towns that encourage a participatory common life.”⁵⁸ Architectural theory moved closer towards a realization of the community proposed by Daniel Bell and his contemporaries.

The school of urban planning known as New Urbanism introduced a successful building program based on this conception of community. Leon Krier gave form to the communitarian rhetoric of the 1980s with a revival of classical urban aesthetics. Krier drew upon the writings of the 19th-century architect Camillo Sitte, who suggested that a revival of the classical European town plan could renew a Hellenic ideal of “public life” among the urban population.⁵⁹ In the 1981 article “Vorwärts, Kameraden, Wir Müssen Zurück,” Krier argued for the relevance of Sitte’s model in the postindustrial epoch. After

⁵⁶ Rossi, *Architecture*, 162.

⁵⁷ Kenneth Frampton, “On Reading Heidegger,” in *Oppositions Reader: Selected Reading from a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture, 1973-1984*, ed. K. Michael Hays (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998): 4

⁵⁸ Philip Bess, “Communitarianism and Emotivism: Two Rival Views of Ethics and Architecture,” in *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory, 1965-1995*, ed. Kate Nesbitt (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996): 380.

⁵⁹ Camillo Sitte, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, in *Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning*, ed. George R. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins, trans. George R. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins, (New York: Rizzoli, 1986): 141-143.

“the fragmentation and systematic dismemberment of cities” in the industrial era, neoclassicism could serve as a “project to combat the destruction of human society.” While Krier identified classical aesthetics with public virtue, his project relied upon the distinctly postmodern separation of aesthetics from politics. Krier framed his polemic as a plea for the preservation of Third Reich monuments. Though he identified the “true causes of [the] holocaust in...unbridled industrialization,” he denied the political implications of Nazi monumental architecture as he stated: “Architecture is not political; it is only an instrument of politics.”⁶⁰ This selective historicization of aesthetics would become definitive of New Urbanist ideology.⁶¹

The architects Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk adapted New Urbanism to a North American context in the early 1980s. With the construction of the flagship New Urbanist community at Seaside, FL, Duany and Plater-Zyberk popularized New Urbanism as an aesthetic programme that appealed to a nostalgic conception of the “pre-WWII landscape” in America.⁶² The contemporary movement forwards a vision of community influenced by the communitarian rhetoric of Jane Jacobs as well as the visual linguistics of postmodernism. As the founders of the movement state, New Urbanism promotes the “creation and restoration of diverse, walkable, compact, vibrant, mixed-use communities...assembled in...[an] integrated fashion, in the form of complete

⁶⁰ Leon Krier, “Vorwärts, Kameraden, Wir Müssen Zurück,” trans. Christian Hubert, in *Oppositions Reader: Selected Reading from a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture, 1973-1984*, ed. K. Michael Hays (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998): 400-411.

⁶¹ As the historian Robert Bruegmann states, New Urbanism also drew upon a “flood of literature describing the social, intellectual and artistic poverty of life in America’s middle-class suburbs.” Bruegmann characterizes the writings of Andres Duany and Elisabeth Plater-Zyberk as the “most potent attack on the alleged aesthetic deficiencies of sprawl” today. Robert Bruegmann, *Sprawl: a Compact History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 128-173.

⁶² “Architecture,” *Seaside*, accessed January 20, 2013, <http://www.seasidefl.com/history/architecture/>.

communities.”⁶³ The proponents of New Urbanism insist that a “sense of place and community identity” may emerge from a careful manipulation of the urban image.⁶⁴ Like Leon Krier, North American New Urbanists emphasize the potential of “traditional neighborhood structure” to foster a sense of urban community and to influence the “social behavior” of its inhabitants.⁶⁵

Built New Urbanism realizes the systematization of urban diversity that has been a fixation of architectural theory since Lynch. Furthermore, the New Urbanist ethos conforms to the conception of the community advanced by postindustrial theory. The traditionalist inclinations of the movement as well as the reduced scale of New Urbanist plans evoke Alvin Toffler’s proposal for “enclaves of the past.” More importantly, the movement promotes an image of organic urbanism within a controlled environment for development. New Urbanist development may incorporate a variety of building types, but the appearance of these structures must conform to a set of “style codes.” Style codes offer a set of aesthetic guidelines for a structure’s “volume, articulation and relationship to the street.”⁶⁶ Unlike the total plan of a modernist project, these style codes do not offer a complete schema for development in a neighborhood. Rather, New Urbanist codes establish boundaries within which aesthetic diversity may be considered acceptable.

⁶³ “New Urbanism,” *New Urbanism*, accessed January 20, 2013, <http://www.newurbanism.org/newurbanism.html>.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Robert Alminana, *The New Civic Art: Elements of Town Planning* (New York: Rizzoli, 2003), 189.

⁶⁶ Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Jeff Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Death of the American Dream* (New York: North Point Press, 2000), 176.

The North American architects Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk outline a common set of New Urbanist style codes in the volume *The Lexicon of the New Urbanism*. The design schematics in *The Lexicon* offer recommendations for the layout of public streetscapes as well as suggested patterns of development in a larger regional context.⁶⁷ A diagram from the work demonstrates the function of style codes in New Urbanist development (Figure 2). The schematic outlines methods of spatial definition in terms of height-to-width ratio, cross-section and plan. At first glance, these recommendations appear to serve as highly flexible templates. The left and center columns present optimum structural dimensions for neighborhood-scale “spatial definition” and enclosure; a pair of trees in an illustration of “spatial definition by tree canopy” offers the highest degree of resolution in these diagrams. The third column offers guidelines for the proper termination or deflection of a thoroughfare; Duany and Plater-Zyberk outline only the course of the thoroughfare and render the surrounding architecture with an undifferentiated striped pattern. While these templates allow for stylistic variation, they impose distinct perceptual boundaries at street level. The schematic for “spatial definition in section” suggests low building facades in order to provide a “definition of the public space by frontages as a room is defined by its walls.”⁶⁸ Similarly, the third column illustrates the authors’ recommendation that a vista be interrupted every “1000 feet.”⁶⁹ Following Kevin Lynch’s recommendations for urban

⁶⁷ Duany, Plater-Zyberk and Alminana, *New*, 145-146.

⁶⁸ Ibid 189.

⁶⁹ Ibid 190-191.

imageability, New Urbanist style codes establish visual boundaries as definite as physical barriers.

The flagship New Urbanist community at Seaside, Florida demonstrates how style codes manifest in built form. Developed in 1981 as a mixed-income community, Seaside proved enormously successful as a financial enterprise. Lots in the community now commonly sell for over \$600,000.⁷⁰ Designed by Duany and Plater-Zyberk, the plan for the community integrates irregularities within a subtly modified grid arrangement (Figure 3). Rows of uniformly sized lots constitute the majority of the Seaside plan. Towards the town center, these rows are arranged in regular rectangular formations. As the diagram for the pedestrian system demonstrates, however, short or deflected cross streets interrupt the regularity of these formations. The architects arrange these clusters along two major diagonal axes that lead to the town center. This arrangement organizes the town around a distribution of public space, which direct the activity of the slightly irregular formations toward the center of the development. In addition, a row of residential lots curves along the northwest corner of the community, preventing monotony while also forming a subtle barrier along the edge of the development. The plan for Seaside regulates an irregular grid through a pattern of development directed towards the interior of the community.

At street level, Seaside features a uniform building aesthetic with slight variations. As Duany and Plater-Zyberk write, the community “consists of a majority of normative sites balanced for interest and orientation by a small number of idiosyncratic ones that

⁷⁰ Jill Grant, *Planning the Good Community: New Urbanism in Theory and Practice*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), 83.

call for exceptional design creativity.”⁷¹ An aerial photograph of Seaside demonstrates how the development balances normative design with occasional idiosyncrasies (Figure 4). The private houses featured in the photograph exhibit a uniform exterior design; the wood siding and pitched roofs of these structures evoke the nostalgic image of pre-WWII America cited by the architects as a source of inspiration. The houses vary in size and shape, but a distribution of greenery prevents these structural idiosyncrasies from interrupting the general grid. An aerial photograph of the northeast corner of the town center reveals a more marked departure from this design schema (Figure 5). A house on the corner features a hexagonal addition that contrasts with the rectangular template of the surrounding structures. However, this deviation from the general schema fits an irregular lot created by the interruption of the grid by the town center. Seaside exhibits an aesthetic of diversity within a highly controlled design schema.

New Urbanism fulfills the expectations of the postindustrial community as envisioned by Bell and other postindustrial theorists. The New Urbanist community creates an enclave through a subtle employment of visual boundaries. Furthermore, the use of style codes allows for design eclecticism while preventing any radical departure from a total organizational schema.

However, the *ex novo* New Urbanist “community” at Seaside fails to demonstrate how the New Urbanist method regulates the existing urban environment. As a method of urban renewal, New Urbanism becomes a more explicit response to the directives of postindustrial capital. In Pittsburgh and other former industrial cities, the economic elite

⁷¹ Duany, Plater-Zyberk and Alminana, *New*, 299.

embraces New Urbanism as a means of bringing urban life under the expanded framework of postwar capitalism.

The Coming of the Postindustrial Community in Pittsburgh

The recent history of Pittsburgh illustrates how the development of the postindustrial community in America responded to preexisting economic directives of the industrial elite. Prior to the theorization of the postindustrial era, the economic and political leadership of the city were actively engaged with the problem of urban image. The economic development of the region in the postwar era suggests that the city leadership accepted the predictions of postindustrial theory as the ideological foundation for a major shift in the region's socioeconomic structure. The visual semiotics of postwar architectural theory provided a programme for the reconstruction of the city according to the postindustrial vision of the urban community.

Pittsburgh emerged as a major center for steel production in the late nineteenth century. At this time, social critics characterized the city as an industrial "inferno." The city served as an extreme case of the social and environmental blight associated with the progress of American industry. A visitor in 1885 characterized Pittsburgh as the "outer edge of the infernal regions." His account describes mill workers as "tortured spirits writhing in agony" and states that an "oppressive" atmosphere of "pain and rage" hangs over the city.⁷² Living conditions for the working class were deplorable. The workers'

⁷² Willard Glazier, *Peculiarities of American Cities* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, 1885) 332, 333, quoted in Roy Lubove, *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business and Environmental Change* (New York: Wiley, 1969), 1.

quarters in the city's South Side consisted of "back-to-back houses with no through ventilation...dark, unsanitary, ill-ventilated, overcrowded sleeping rooms, no drinking water supply on the premises...and a dearth of sanitary accommodations that was shameful."⁷³ The ill-paid working class attempted to petition for living wages, but the industrial elite vehemently opposed unionism as a threat to economization. In particular, the violent suppression of a 1892 strike at the Homestead steel works served as a stark example of the antagonistic relationship between workers and the managerial class.⁷⁴

The nascent industrial elite soon sought to address discontent among the working population. As the historian Roy Lubove notes, the managerial class realized that proper management of "housing and other hitherto ignored environmental factors" was integral to economic planning in the region.⁷⁵ The industrial elite sought to initiate reform through voluntary social organizations. A voluntary commitment would serve as a preferable alternative to the independent assertion of labor organizations or direct state invention, which seemed imminent in the wake of unflattering state and national reports on working conditions in the region. Beyond the regional scale, Pittsburgh could serve as a model for social organization in early industrial society. As the sociologist Paul U. Kellogg emphasized, Pittsburgh was not an isolated case; the city was "rampantly American" and "representative" of the consequences of "untrammeled industrial development."⁷⁶ The

⁷³ F. Elisabeth Crowell, "Three Studies in Housing and Responsibility, 2. Painter's Row, The Company House," in *The Pittsburgh District: Civic Frontage* (New York: Survey Associates, Russell Sage Foundation, 1911), 130, quoted in Lubove, *Twentieth* (1969), 14.

⁷⁴ Lubove, *Twentieth* (1969), 1-9.

⁷⁵ *Ibid* 31.

⁷⁶ Paul U. Kellogg, "Field Work of the Pittsburgh Survey," in *The Pittsburgh District: Civic Frontage* (New York: Survey Associates, Russell Sage Foundation, 1914), 501, quoted in Lubove, *Twentieth* (1969), 9.

economic elite of Pittsburgh would have to demonstrate a method of “human engineering” as developed as its system of “mechanical” organization.⁷⁷

The early campaign of redevelopment aimed to unite Pittsburgh under a singular identity. Under the auspices of public-private development agencies, the economic and political elite sought to organize the regionally fragmented city into a “fellowship” that would unite “common interests of the poor, the rich [and] the wage earners” and end the “competitive war [that set] them in opposing camps.”⁷⁸ The economic leadership lobbied for the unification of Pittsburgh and the surrounding region into a unified metropolitan government. Although regional opposition prevented the formation of the metropolitan administration, a powerful coalition of political and economic interests implemented a region-wide plan for redevelopment in the early postwar period.⁷⁹ As *Fortune* magazine noted, the “Mellon Empire,” “Big Steel” and other “power groupings” assumed total “power” over the development of the city.⁸⁰

On an ideological level, the city’s elite sought an “integration of local, ethnic and class fragments” into a unified people.⁸¹ Industrial magnates offered concessions to labor unions in exchange for stability in worker-management relations.⁸² The city also

⁷⁷ Paul U. Kellogg, “Our Hidden Cities: And the American Zest for Discovery,” *Survey*, 60 (July 1, 1928), 392, quoted in Lubove, *Twentieth* (1969), 8.

⁷⁸ Beulah Kennard, “Pittsburgh’s Experience with Summer Playgrounds,” *Chataquan* No. 36 (November 1902), 197, cited in Roy Lubove, *Twentieth-Century* (1969), 51.

⁷⁹ Lubove, *Twentieth* (1969), 98-103.

⁸⁰ “Pittsburgh’s New Powers,” *Fortune* 35 (February 1947), 73, quoted in Lubove, *Twentieth* (1969), 108.

⁸¹ Francis G. Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City, 1877-1919* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 125.

⁸² John P. Hoerr, *And the Wolf Finally Came: The Decline of the American Steel Industry* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988), 53-54.

extended employment and housing programs in order to provide a “powerful deterrent against blight and slums” as well as a means of “strengthening and preserving the social and economic values inherent in...sound neighborhoods.”⁸³ While the city sought to expand its economic capacities beyond heavy industry, the welfare programs introduced in the early postwar period were firmly steeped in the industrial philosophy of social organization. The establishment of unionism and the regional scope of development conformed to the directives of “social capitalism,” a bureaucratic system of management in which the individual occupies an “established position” in the local socioeconomic structure.⁸⁴

The downtown development known as the Golden Triangle is the most visible symbol of the economic order of the early postwar period. The corporate park located at Gateway Center typifies the structural order of the reconstructed downtown (Figure 6). Two and Three Gateway Center are the identical, cruciform towers in the left register of the photograph. The later building known as Four Gateway Center stands to their right. These structures are typical of postwar corporate modernism. As the architectural historian Franklin Toker notes, the design of Two and Three Gateway Center closely resembles Le Corbusier’s plan for the Radiant City (Figure 7). Specifically, the architects adapt the cruciform structure and the layout of green space almost directly from the iconic plan.⁸⁵ However, the aesthetics of Le Corbusier’s utopian vision are employed in

⁸³ ACTION-Housing, *Proceedings of Conference on Modernization of Houses and Neighborhoods*, April 5, 1960, i, quoted in Lubove, *Twentieth* (1969), 153.

⁸⁴ Richard Sennett, *The Culture of the New Capitalism*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 20-30.

⁸⁵ Franklin Toker, *Pittsburgh: An Urban Portrait* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986), 26-27.

service of the managerial social structure of the city. As an early map of the Triangle illustrates, the first three Gateway Buildings enclose the public green space between the towers and a major roadway. The intersection of the identical facades at the angle of the cruciform multiplies the appearance of the structures; at street level, the development simulates the scale of Le Corbusier's plan. The early structures of the Gateway Center project their design as an ubiquitous, inescapable order. As Martin notes, the seriality of these structures symbolize the era of "mechanical reproducibility" and simultaneously organize their inhabitants under this paradigm.⁸⁶ Furthermore, the use of "steel, aluminum and glass" in the buildings' facades suggests a direct relationship between the corporate offices located in the complex and heavy industry in the surrounding region.⁸⁷ The early structures of Gateway Center serve as a vivid representation of Pittsburgh's socioeconomic order in the industrial epoch.

By contrast, the later Gateway Four hints toward the emergence of post-industrial capital in the city. While Gateway Four is constructed primarily from steel, the use of this material no longer serves as a direct reference to the regional industry. The reduced visibility of material support in the facade minimizes the role of steel in the structure. Constructed on the site of a former rail yard, Gateway Center housed corporate offices for IBM and Westinghouse in its first decade.⁸⁸ In appearance and function, the development served as an early sign of the city's movement away from its traditional industrial base.

⁸⁶ Reinhold Martin, *Utopia's Ghost: Architecture and Postmodernism, Again* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010), 111.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Lubove, *Twentieth* (1969), 123-124.

While the Golden Triangle served as an emblem of the city's newfound economic success, the public regarded the postwar program of housing development as a failure. The city could begin to attract the interest of postindustrial magnates, but the gesture towards a unified regional community was rejected by the conflicting interests of a factional public. Among the working class, unionism led to the formation of communities opposed to the directives of the economic leadership. Strikes and the process of collective bargaining created a divide between workers and management. While the city achieved basic infrastructural improvements in the city's underdeveloped neighborhoods, planning authorities failed to convince the residents of these communities that the prerogatives of regional development coincided with their interests.⁸⁹

The renewal project in the neighborhood of East Liberty became a notorious example of ill-advised planning policy in the early postwar era. As the Golden Triangle was under construction, development authorities announced an extensive program of reconstruction in the district. The city assured residents that the planning process would include voices beyond "civic leaders and large investors"; the Pennsylvania Economy League promised a open forum for residents' concerns, stating that for "the first time... [h]undreds of people [would] contribute to the development of their neighborhood." The leaders of the development program made little effort to substantiate these claims. The Housing Authority declared over half of the structures in East Liberty "substandard" and insisted that these properties would be "too costly...to repair."⁹⁰ In the early 1960s, the

⁸⁹ Hoerr, *Wolf*, 21; Lubove, *Twentieth-Century* (1969), 130-132.

⁹⁰ "East Liberty Renewal Gives Rare Chance," *Pittsburgh Press*, June 17, 1959.

Mellon National Bank financed the construction of the Pennley Park housing complex to replace the “aging and deteriorated” housing stock.⁷⁶

Tasso Katselas’ plan for Pennley Park illustrates the ethos behind the constructed community of postwar Pittsburgh (Figure 8-9). The complex consists of “eight masonry and pre-cast concrete buildings” arranged around a common green space.⁹¹ Falling at the intersection of two major roads, the towers serve as a prominent landmark amid the low-lying structures of the district. The design of the complex echoes the Gateway Center plan in several respects. Like the Gateway Towers, the Pennley Park complex encloses a public space through an arrangement of identical structures. The facades of the Pennley towers feature slight transverse extensions that recall the cruciform structure of Gateway Center. This echo of the reconstructed downtown constitutes an attempt to replace the existing community in East Liberty with the unified regional order forwarded by the city’s economic elite. However, the population of East Liberty failed to identify with the social ideal of postwar industry. Built on the site of demolished residences, the severe order of Pennley Place became a “highly visible symbol of old-style renewal, indifferent to the housing needs and problems of low-income families.”⁹²

Beginning in the 1970s, the economic leadership of Pittsburgh began to envision the future of the region in the terms of postindustrial theory. U.S. Steel and other prominent industrial firms shuttered their mills throughout the region, citing declining profits and the pressures of foreign competition as a rationale. While several mills in the

⁹¹ Dave Bollinger, “FHA Backing of Pennley Park Provides East Liberty with Big Lift,” *Pittsburgh Press*, March 15, 1964.

⁹² Lubove, *Twentieth-Century* (1969), 130-132.

greater Pittsburgh region remained open, the core of the city was soon free of any visible reminders of the city's industrial heritage.⁹³ The economic elite of the city deemed the transition to postindustrial capital inevitable. The Allegheny Conference on Community Development outlined the future of the region in stark terms: "Change is irreversible. The forces at work are irreversible. Steel will not come back."⁹⁴

The question of whether deindustrialization was an unavoidable reality for Pittsburgh remains open to debate. However, the industrial elite of the city worked actively towards the realization of postindustrial expectations. While U.S. Steel requested tax concessions to save the ailing steel industry, the corporation began to diversify its holdings with the purchase of Marathon Oil in 1982.⁹⁵ U.S. Steel (USS) soon became USX, a sign of the corporation's entrance into the world of finance capital.⁹⁶ Mellon Bank, a major source of finance for the city's housing and economic development initiatives, foreclosed on mill properties and began to invest in the booming Japanese steel industry.⁹⁷ The expectations of postindustrial theory suited the interests of the region's economic powers.

The concept of the postindustrial community provided the blueprint for the reconstruction of the city. The civic government and local financial powers sought to

⁹³ Roy Lubove, *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh: The Post-Steel Era* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), 5-8.

⁹⁴ Allegheny Conference on Community Development, "Strategies for Growth," quoted in Dale A. Hathaway, *Can Workers Have a Voice?: The Politics of Deindustrialization in Pittsburgh*, (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 182.

⁹⁵ Hoerr, *Wolf*, 17.

⁹⁶ Ibid 521.

⁹⁷ Hathaway, *Workers*, 52.

recreate Pittsburgh as a center for “diversified professional, service, research, information processing and advanced technology” services “graced by an improved quality of life.”⁹⁸ This program entailed a vigorous program of investment in the city’s research universities as well as renewed outreach to corporate interests to provide expanded employment in the service industries.⁹⁹ As with the renewal effort of the early postwar period, renewal was considered impossible without a significant shift in the widely held conception of the city as an industrial center. As the Allegheny Conference stated, “Pittsburgh’s negative image...[stands] as a barrier to recruiting talent, attracting businesses, and giving the Pittsburgh market area the economic stature it deserves.”¹⁰⁰

The postindustrial conception of work and the city granted development authorities an effective method of constructing a community. The decline of heavy industry destroyed the labor communities that had formed in opposition to the economizing tendencies of the managerial class. The relative stability of the industrial workforce dissolved as the city’s nascent research and service industries demanded a more flexible hiring base. The influential sociologist Richard Florida characterizes this new generation of workers as a “creative class.” While workers in the industrial epoch “formed their identities in groups” and “social institutions,” members of the creative class strive to create [their] own identities” by expressing themselves through their work. According to Florida, workers in the creative class adapt easily to the pace of

⁹⁸ Lubove, *Twentieth-Century* (1996), ix.

⁹⁹ Ibid 48-50.

¹⁰⁰ Allegheny Conference on Community Development, *Economic Development Program*, Chapter 9:5, quoted in Lubove, *Twentieth-Century* (1996), 31.

postindustrial society and “progress from job to job with amazingly little concern.”¹⁰¹

Florida cites Pittsburgh as a haven for the creative class. The “venture capital” mindset of the “Mellon interests” and other economic powers creates a culture of innovation that allows creative economic activity to flourish.¹⁰² Florida is not alone in characterizing Pittsburgh as a successful postindustrial city. *The New York Times* describes Pittsburgh as a new center for “computer software and computer technology” development and cites the city as a potential “model” for economic development in former industrial cities.¹⁰³ By the accounts of contemporary social critics, Pittsburgh appears to have met the challenges of the postindustrial economy.

This characterization of Pittsburgh attempts to naturalize the postwar capitalist ethos in the natural behavior of the public. The theory of the creative class attributes the actions of the city’s economic elite to a natural change in the habits of the working class. While Florida celebrates “creativity” and “individuality,” these qualities are defined primarily through their expression as labor in the postindustrial economy. This identification of individuality with the goals of postindustrial development characterizes the second wave of renewal in Pittsburgh. Florida commends Pittsburgh’s “history, authenticity...[and] spectacular interplay between the built and natural environments” insofar as this urban diversity conforms to the postindustrial conception of the

¹⁰¹ Richard L. Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (New York: Basic Books, 2004), 7.

¹⁰² Richard L. Florida, “How Long Does it Take Cities to Come Back?” *Creative Class*, 2009, accessed February 15, 2013, http://www.creativeclass.com/_v3/creative_class/2009/01/16/how-long-does-it-take-cities-to-come-back/.

¹⁰³ Streitfield, “Pittsburgh.”

community.¹⁰⁴ As the case of development in East Liberty illustrates, the apparent embrace of regional diversity in planning strategy becomes an attempt to shape the community according to the postindustrial conception of the city. A total plan for the city still dictates development, but the aims of this program are conflated with an appeal to local interests.

The neighborhood development program known as the East Liberty Project characterizes the planning strategies of postindustrial Pittsburgh. Founded in 1999, the renewal campaign presents the refinement of a new approach to city planning inaugurated after the visible failure of the redevelopment projects of the early postwar era. The second wave of redevelopment occurred under the auspices of community development corporations. In contrast to the large public-private associations of the late industrial era, community development corporations work at the scale of the neighborhood and place a stronger emphasis upon “social services” and “neighborhood image building” in their work.¹⁰⁵ The concept of the postindustrial community informed the rhetorical ethos of these corporations. James V. Cunningham, a prominent figure in the transition to the era of community development, noted the importance of “human attitudes of unity and responsibility” to “a sense of community.”¹⁰⁶ The postindustrial subject stood at the center of development rhetoric in the second wave of renewal.

The 1999 prospectus for the East Liberty Project addresses the postindustrial community through the rhetorical and aesthetic strategies of New Urbanism. The authors

¹⁰⁴ Richard Florida, “Viva La Rustbelt,” *Creative Class*, August 28, 2008, accessed April 28, 2012, http://www.creativeclass.com/_v3/creative_class/2008/08/28/viva-la-rustbelt/.

¹⁰⁵ Lubove, *Pittsburgh* (1996), 117.

¹⁰⁶ Roy Lubove, Interview with James V. Cunningham, quoted in Lubove, *Twentieth-Century* (1969), 163.

explain the failure of Pennley Park in the terms of the New Urbanist critique of modernist development. According to this narrative, developers in the 1960s “destroyed the tightly-knit urban fabric to make way for large one-story retail buildings, huge parking lots and wide access roads.” Pennley Place became a “prominent distressed” property, which trapped “low-income African-American tenants in obsolete structures in the center of East Liberty.” The neighborhood grid “discourage[d] access into the commercial district” and “disorient[ed] visitors.”¹⁰⁷ The prospectus cites the pre-war period as the peak of the neighborhood despite the fact that planning officials referred to East Liberty as an “aging and deteriorated neighborhood” at this time.¹⁰⁸ The idealization of East Liberty in the pre-war era echoes the nostalgic urban ideal forwarded by Duany and Plater-Zyberk. Furthermore, the authors cast the future of the neighborhood in the idealistic terms of New Urbanist rhetoric. The plan of development will transform East Liberty into a “close-knit community, with a stable population...strong community institutions...[and] a beautiful and well-maintained environment.”¹⁰⁹

According to the East Liberty Project, the science of urban imageability will provide the foundation for the neighborhood’s revival. The authors of the 1999 prospectus forward a visual strategy designed to ameliorate the “exaggerated perception of crime in East Liberty” and to offer a sense of civic “wholeness” throughout the neighborhood. The reconstruction of the “original street grid” may contribute to a sense of visual “continuity” within East Liberty. More importantly, the demolition of Pennley

¹⁰⁷ East Liberty Development, Inc., “1999.”

¹⁰⁸ Dave Bollinger, “FHA Backing of Pennley Park Provides East Liberty with Big Lift,” *Pittsburgh Press*, March 15, 1964.

¹⁰⁹ East Liberty Development, Inc., “1999.”

Park is essential to the rehabilitation of the neighborhood's "negative image." The authors illustrate this point through a comparison of the existing streetscape with a prospective sketch for development (Figure 10). A photograph of the existing neighborhood portrays a street lined with low-rise brick buildings and empty lots. Pennley Place stands at the terminus of the street and dominates the surrounding landscape. By contrast, the prospective sketch presents an image of a tree-lined boulevard lined with townhouses. The introduction of a row of trees on the median employs a strategy for the establishment of pedestrian scale outlined in the *The Lexicon of the New Urbanism*. The artist address the image problem associated with Pennley Place by simply removing the structure from the landscape. This sketch neatly summarizes the New Urbanist approach to renewal. Planners address the problem of inadequate housing by literally redrawing the district to reflect an established aesthetic of urban community. Organization no longer appears in the highly visible image of the modernist high-rise. Rather, organization spreads laterally throughout the region through the duplication of standardized high rises down the street.¹¹⁰

The development guidelines for the East Liberty Project provide insight into the methods of organization implicit in the design programme. A diagram for development on the "regional main street" Penn Avenue juxtaposes street-level images of the existing

¹¹⁰ While New Urbanists condemn modernist planning as an imposition upon the organic urban environment, this case illustrates how the highly selective nature of architectural preservation in New Urbanist plans. The New Urbanist attitude towards preservation must be understood in the context of the postwar rhetoric of urban "obsolescence." As the architectural historian Daniel M. Abramson notes, "obsolescence" has become a particularly confusing term with the emergence of New Urbanism. While New Urbanism seeks to recover "what was lost unnaturally under the rule of obsolescence," this renewal requires the destruction of the "unnatural" modernist structures that are now themselves termed "obsolete." Daniel M. Abramson, "Boston's West End: Urban Obsolescence in Mid-Twentieth Century America," in *Governing by Design: Architecture, Economy, and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Aggregate (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012): 64-65.

architecture with a color-coded plan for development in the neighborhood (Figure 11).

While the developers promise to “preserve...funky retail space for small independent businesses,” the plan reveals that most of the street-facing structures are slated for demolition or renovation. Furthermore, the “visual axis” outlined by a red checked line bypasses the majority of the development on Penn Avenue.¹¹¹ This may reflect developers’ characterization of the street as “dirty, unmaintained, inaccessible...and unsafe.”¹¹² Furthermore, the realized pattern of renewal evinces the developers’ apprehension towards this area. As of 2013, the majority of new development falls outside of the area immediately surrounding Penn Avenue. While a Target store recently opened on Penn, the store lies on the visual axis that leads visitors away from the center of the district.¹¹³ The East Liberty Project leaves the existing neighborhood intact, but the pattern of development creates a barrier between new construction and the traditional center of the neighborhood.

At street level, new development in East Liberty exhibits the high degree of aesthetic control associated with New Urbanist style codes. After the demolition of Pennley Place, the East Liberty Project announced the construction of a mixed-income housing project on the former site of the high rises. The new housing complex consists of “mid-rise buildings, townhomes, and duplex style residences” that are highly

¹¹¹ East Liberty Development, Inc., “Development Guidelines for the Center of East Liberty,” *East Liberty Post*, May 2004, accessed October 27, 2011, http://www.eastlibertypost.com/sitedocs/design_guidelines.pdf.

¹¹² East Liberty Development, Inc., “East Liberty Community Plan,” *East Liberty Post*, 2010, accessed February 14, 2013, <http://eastlibertypost.com/2010-community-plan/>.

¹¹³ Mark Belko, “Target Expected to Drive East Liberty Resurgence,” March 30, 2012, accessed February 17, 2013, <http://www.post-gazette.com/stories/business/news/target-expected-to-drive-east-liberty-resurgence-307472/>.

characteristic of New Urbanist design (Figure 12-13).¹¹⁴ The duplexes echo the nostalgic design of the residences in Seaside. High-occupancy structures feature brick facades and a tree-lined pedestrian path that recall the sketch included in the original prospective for development. Overall, the design program reflects more the New Urbanist aesthetic of diversity than the existing architecture in East Liberty. Furthermore, the new development serves to diminish the presence of the housing projects in the neighborhood. The project lies a safe distance from the intersection of the major visual axis and Penn Avenue. Unlike Pennley Place, the new complex does not impose on the neighborhood's horizon; a generous distribution of greenery and a row of neutral New Urbanist facades shield Penn Avenue from the public spaces within the complex. Organization no longer emerges through an explicit reference to the regional community. Rather, East Liberty may remain unique insofar as its diversity is expressed through the implanted aesthetic of the New Urbanist community.

The attempt to rehabilitate East Liberty's image has entailed the displacement of lower-income residents from the neighborhood. During the construction of the new housing complex, former residents of Pennley Place were offered a \$1,000 housing voucher with the stipulation that they would not reside in temporary housing offered in East Liberty.¹¹⁵ While the majority of the residences in the new complex were supposedly reserved for "low and moderate-income households," the Coalition of Organized Residents of East Liberty was forced to file suit against the city in order to ensure

¹¹⁴ Community Builders, Inc., "New Pennley Place," *The Community Builders, Inc.*, February 17, 2013, http://www.tcbinc.org/what_we_do/projects/new_pennley.htm.

¹¹⁵ Sonya M. Toler, "Liberty Park Residents Upset Over Foreclosure," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 31, 2002.

displaced residents housing in the new development. Even after the success of the suit, the complex failed to accommodate many of the displaced. A 2010 report by the East Liberty Project noted a higher population loss in the neighborhood relative to the average rate for the city of Pittsburgh. The authors of the report admitted that this phenomenon may be due to the “redevelopment of obsolete housing stock.”¹¹⁶

The flagship development at the East Side plaza evinces the target demographic of the East Liberty Project. East Side is bounded by a two-story commercial complex and a Whole Foods grocery store. Stylistically, the development contrasts sharply with the surrounding architecture (Figure 14-15). The sleek, minimal glass structures of East Side have little in common with the brick architecture prevalent in the rest of the neighborhood. A mirror mosaic recessed from the facade of Whole Foods seems to attempt to communicate with the existing environment, but this image faces away from the surrounding neighborhood. While the two-story development features a low facade that mediates with street level, the complex is largely isolated from its surroundings. Parking for the complex is entirely self-contained, and several blocks lie between the development and the center of the neighborhood at Penn Avenue. A distinct visual boundary separates the upscale plaza from the heart of East Liberty.

The system of visual distinction within East Liberty serves a larger pattern of development in the regional context. The visual axis proposed by the East Liberty Project leads from the high-end shopping district in Shadyside through East Liberty to a new development known as Bakery Square (Figure 16). The East Side complex stands on the

¹¹⁶ East Liberty Development, Inc., “East.”

boundary between East Liberty and Shadyside. The proximity of the plaza to Shadyside reflects the desire of developers to attract “upper income customer[s].”¹¹⁷ Residents of East Liberty have noted that the merchandising mix at the new plaza fails to accommodate lower-income households.¹¹⁸ At the other end of the visual axis, the Bakery Square development features a similar mix of commercial development with a focus on high-end clothing. While the brick facade of the structure offers a slight stylistic departure from the East Side plaza, the employment of glass storefronts and the pattern of landscaping at Bakery Square echo the sister development. The website for Bakery Square emphasize the proximity of the development to Oakland, a neighborhood that features the “city’s major economic engines – the universities, medical centers, and burgeoning technology and biotechnology industries.” East Liberty itself receives no mention.¹¹⁹

The East Liberty Project presents a successful example of controlled diversity in the urban environment. As defined by the developers’ visual axis, the pattern of renewal establishes stylistic continuity from the border of East Liberty to the regions that define Pittsburgh as a postindustrial capital. The developers address the problem of image by establishing a boundary between new development and the traditional center of the community; a picturesque New Urbanist facade replaces the visible reminder of poverty associated with the high-rise towers of Pennley Place. As the East Liberty Project has

¹¹⁷ Street-Works, “Street-Works Presentation and Market Plan,” *East Liberty Post*, 2007, accessed February 14, 2013, <http://www.eastliberty.org/community-planning/plans-and-studies/streetworks-presentation-and-market-plan>.

¹¹⁸ Violet Law, “At Liberty to Speak,” *Pittsburgh City Paper*, November 1, 2007, accessed December 5, 2011, <http://www.pittsburghcitypaper.ws/gyrobase/Content?oid=oid%3A37791>.

¹¹⁹ “About Us,” *Bakery Square*, accessed February 28, 2013, <http://bakery-square.com/about/>.

stated, the new development “maintain[s] [the] dignity” of the surrounding neighborhoods by “strengthen[ing] the edges of the business district” against the core of East Liberty.¹²⁰

Conclusion

The citizenry of East Liberty did not fully embrace the vision of community forwarded by the city. While many residents agreed that the Pennley Place complex was in need of renovation, the public spectacle held before the demolition failed to win over the community. For many residents, the gleeful defacement of East Mall constituted a “vulgar display of disrespect” on the part of the city government.¹²¹ Despite the planners’ appeal to the character of the neighborhood, the divide between development authorities and the residents of East Liberty remained. As a founding member of the Coalition of Organized Residents stated, the former inhabitants of East Mall felt like “chessmen on a board, moving here, moving there, just numbers.”¹²²

Unlike the failure of Pennley Park, however, the discontent over the East Liberty Project has failed to spread beyond the neighborhood. *The Wall Street Journal* recently announced that East Liberty had finally “recover[ed] from errors made by city planners” and had become a center of “‘urban chic’ for people who work at nearby hospitals and

¹²⁰ Patricia Lowry, “Workshop to Handle Rise of Ideas for ‘Bakery Row,’” *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*, October 3, 2006.

¹²¹ Jan Ackerman, “Housing Demolition Troubles Some,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, January 16, 2001.

¹²² Diana Nelson Jones, “Film Captures Moods of East Liberty Residents,” March 13, 2007, accessed January 28, 2013, <http://www.post-gazette.com/stories/local/neighborhoods-city/film-captures-moods-of-east-liberty-residents-476117/>.

universities.”¹²³ Beyond Pittsburgh, the success of the East Liberty Project belies the popularization of New Urbanism across North America. The national HOPE IV housing program of the 1990s promoted the demolition of high-rise housing projects and the construction of “townhouses and garden style apartments” in their place. As the East Liberty Project illustrates, the manufactured diversity of these new developments often proves hardly less regimented than their maligned modernist predecessors. Furthermore, the architectural critic Jill Grant notes that the HOPE IV developments often fail to house the displaced residents of the demolished projects.¹²⁴ The historical paradigm of the postindustrial community fails to acknowledge these concerns. In order to address the urban problem after modernism, urban planners may have to think outside of the narrative of postindustrialism.

¹²³ James R. Hagerty, “A Neighborhood’s Comeback,” *Wall Street Journal*, July 18, 2012, accessed February 28, 2012, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702303612804577533112214213358.html>.

¹²⁴ Grant, *Planning*, 95.

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FIGURES

Figure 1. Lynch, Kevin. *Variable Boundaries of Boston Districts*. 1960. In: Kevin Lynch. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960.

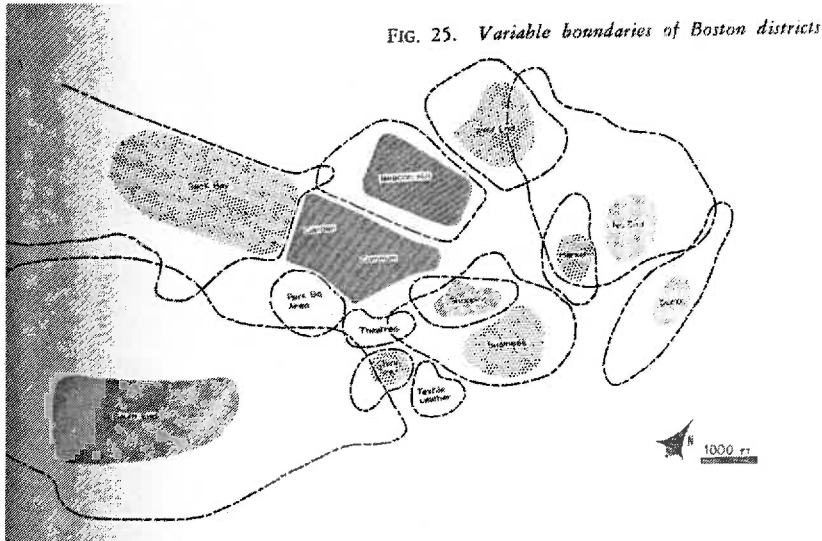


Figure 2. Duany, Andres and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. *Diagrams for Spatial Definition*. In: Duany, Andres, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Robert Alminana. In: *The New Civic Art: Elements of Town Planning*. New York: Rizzoli, 2003.

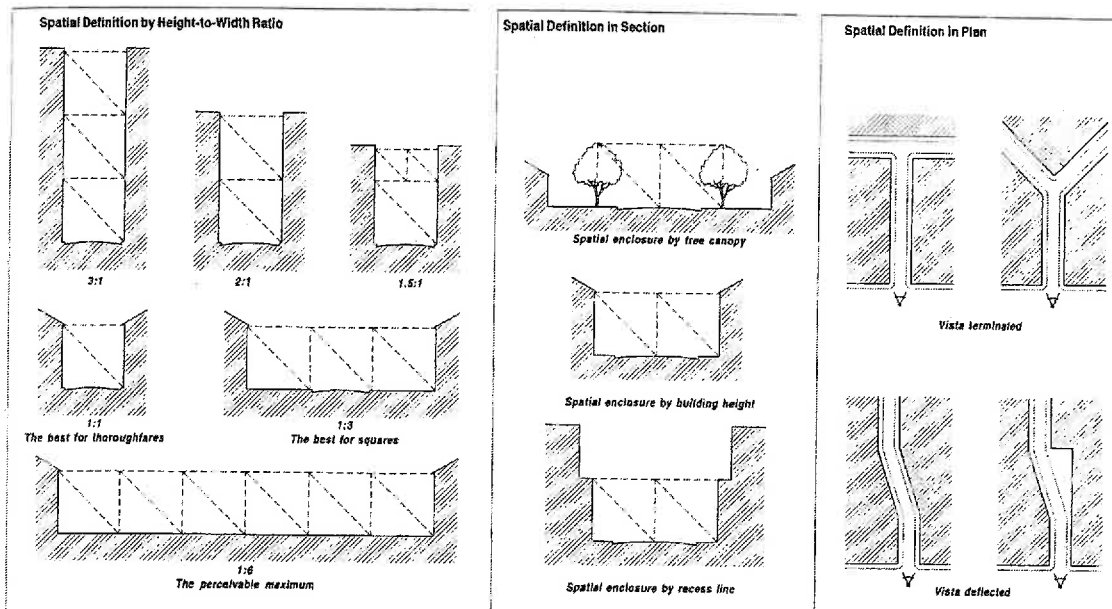
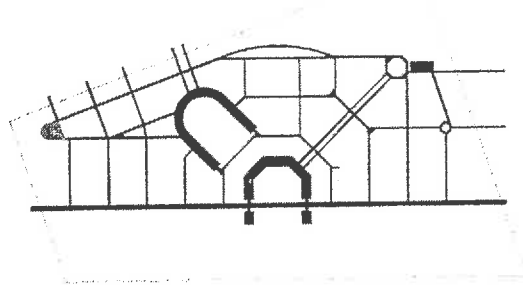
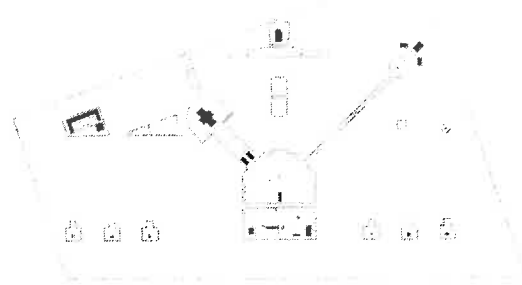


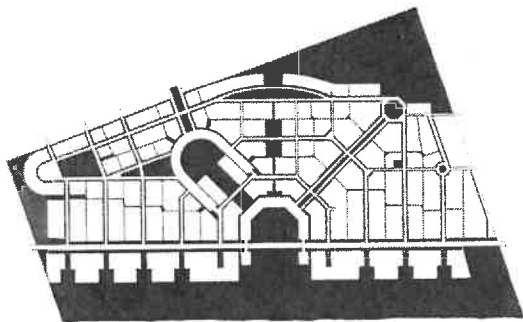
Figure 3. Duany, Andres and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. *The Seaside Plan*. 1982. In: Duany, Andres, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Robert Alminana. In: *The New Civic Art: Elements of Town Planning*. New York: Rizzoli, 2003.



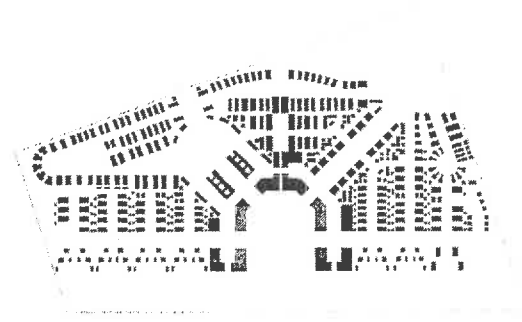
3.21a Vehicular System



3.21c Civic Buildings



3.21b Pedestrian System



3.21d Private Buildings

Figure 4. MacLean, Alex. *Aerial Photograph of Seaside, FL*. 1994. In: Leon Krier. *The Architecture of Community*. Washington, DC: Island Press, 2009.

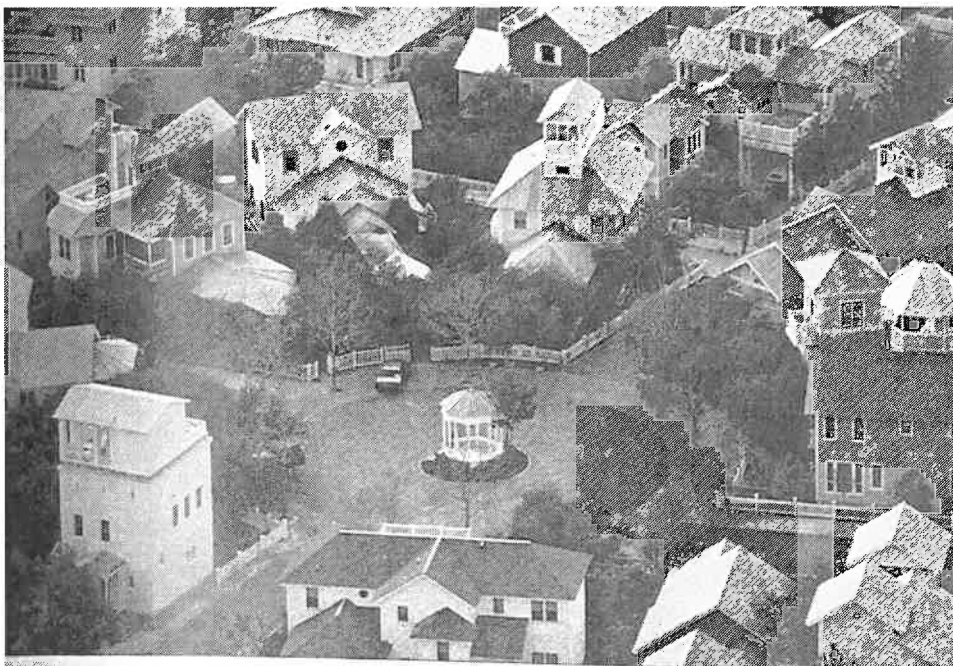


Figure 5. Davis, Robert. *Aerial Photograph of Seaside, FL*. In: *The New Civic Art: Elements of Town Planning*. New York: Rizzoli, 2003.



Figure 6. Tierney, Maurice. *Photograph of Gateway Center*. In: Toker, Franklin. *Pittsburgh: An Urban Portrait*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986.

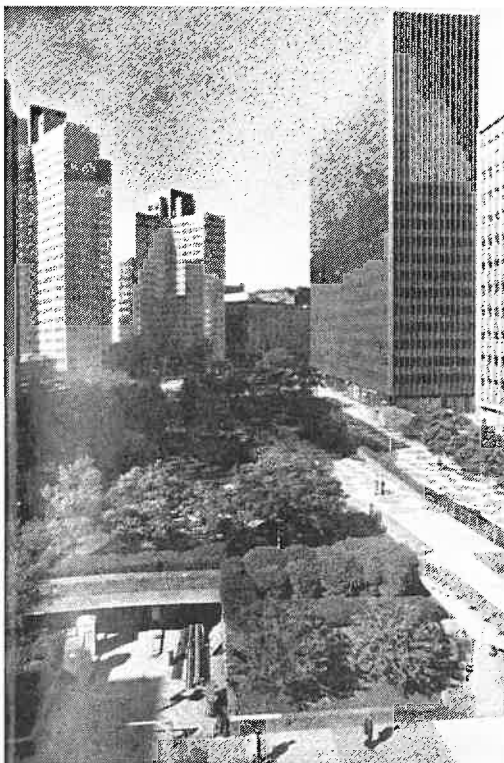


Figure 7. Le Corbusier. *Diagram of the Radiant City*. In: "Cybernetics in the 3rd Millennium (C3M)." March 2012. Accessed April 27, 2013. http://www.well.com/user/abs/Cyb/archive/c3m_1001.html.

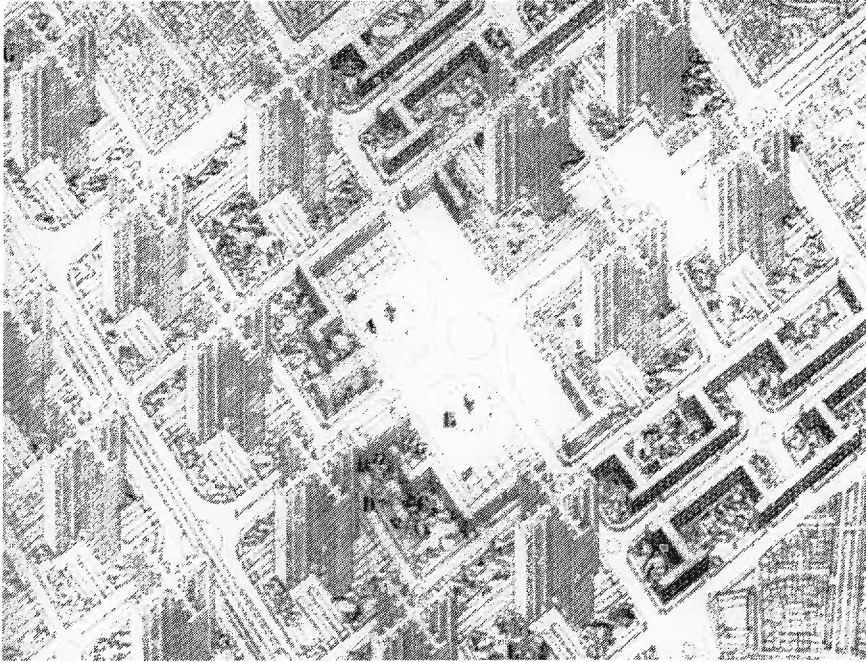


Figure 8. Katselas, Tasso. *Sketch of Pennley Park*. In: Tasso Katselas. "The Contemporary Brick Bearing Wall." *Architectural Record* (January 1995): 293-296.

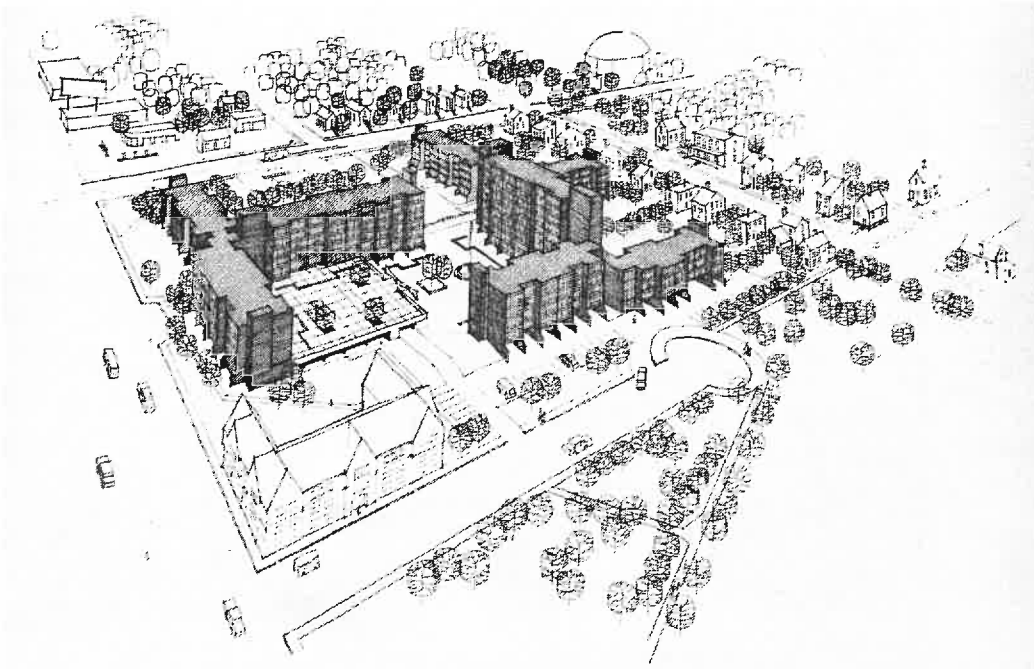


Figure 9. Katselas, Tasso. *Aerial Sketch of Pennley Park*. In: Tasso Katselas. "The Contemporary Brick Bearing Wall." *Architectural Record* (January 1995): 293-296.

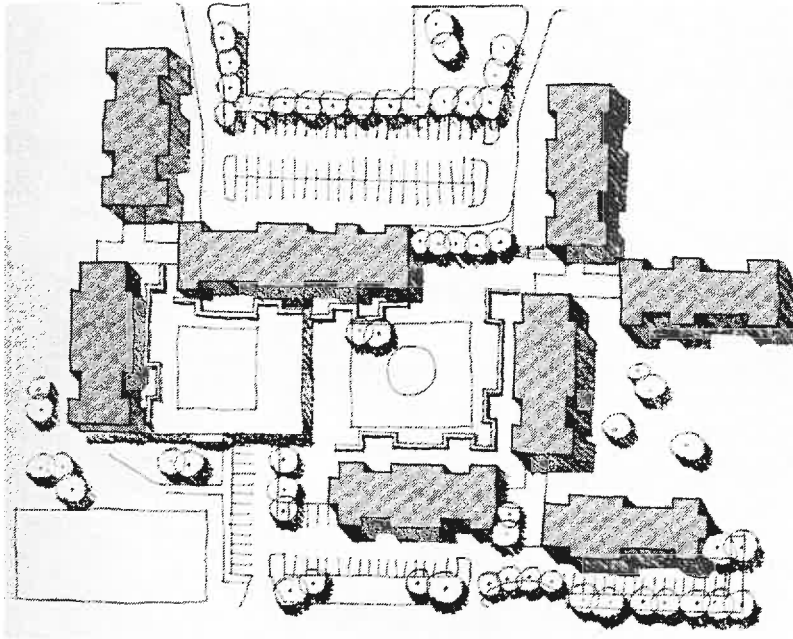


Figure 10: East Liberty Development, Inc. *Photograph of East Liberty and Sketch for Prospective Development*. In: East Liberty Development, Inc. "1999 Community Plan: A Vision for East Liberty." *East Liberty Post*. 1999. Accessed October 27, 2011. <http://www.eastliberty.org/community-planning/plans-and-studies/1999-community-plan-a-vision-for-east-liberty>.

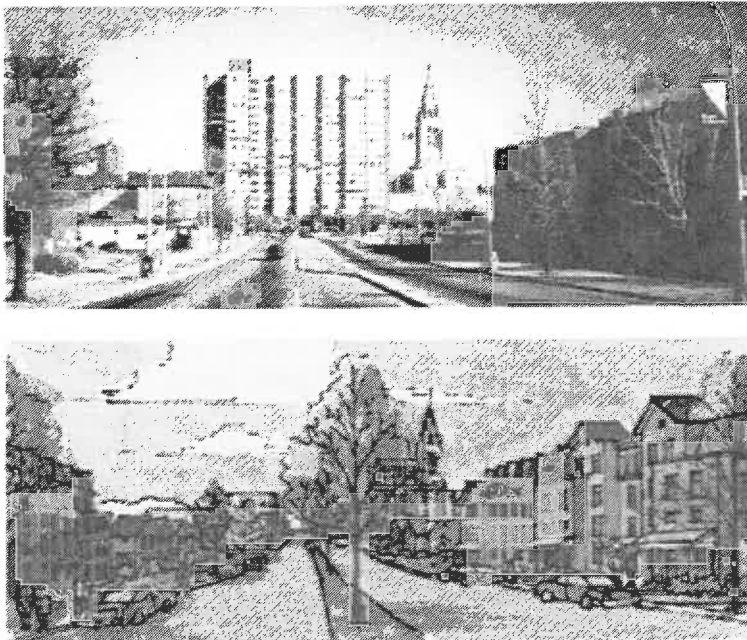


Figure 11. East Liberty Development, Inc. *Development Vision: New Roads and Traffic Patterns*. East Liberty Development, Inc. "Development Guidelines for the Center of East Liberty." *East Liberty Post*. May 2004. Accessed October 27, 2011. http://www.eastlibertypost.com/sitedocs/design_guidelines.pdf.

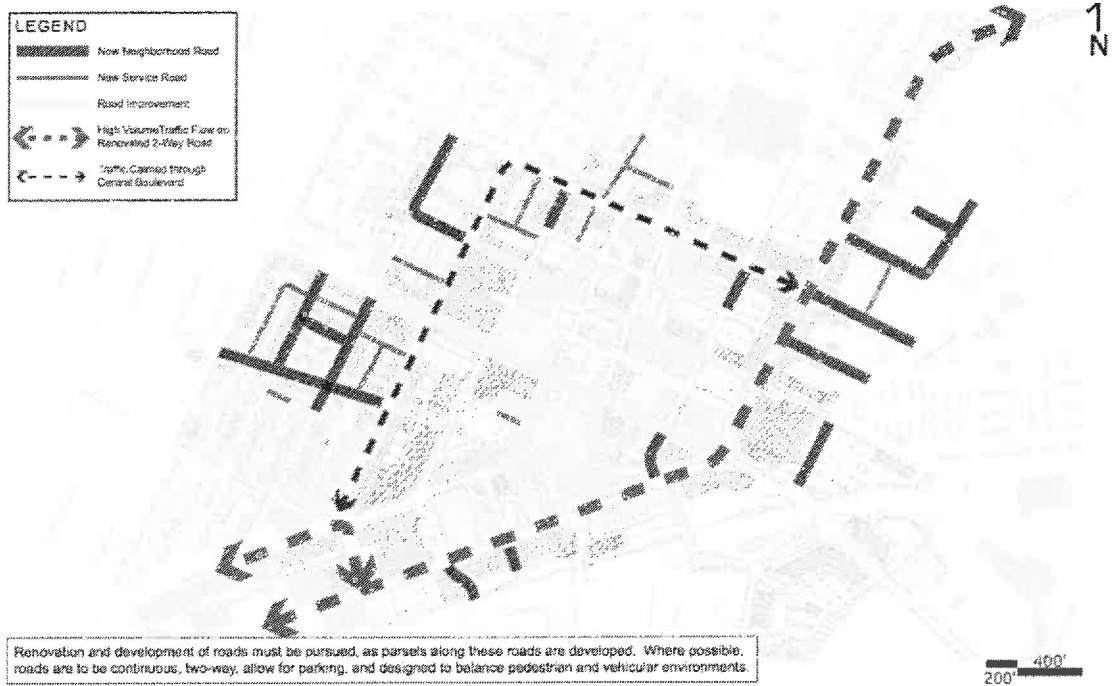


Figure 12. Unknown. *Photograph of New Pennley Place*. In: The Community Builders, Inc. "New Pennley Place: Apartment Homes." *New Pennley Place*. Accessed April 27, 2013. http://www.newpennleyplace.com/photo_gallery.html.



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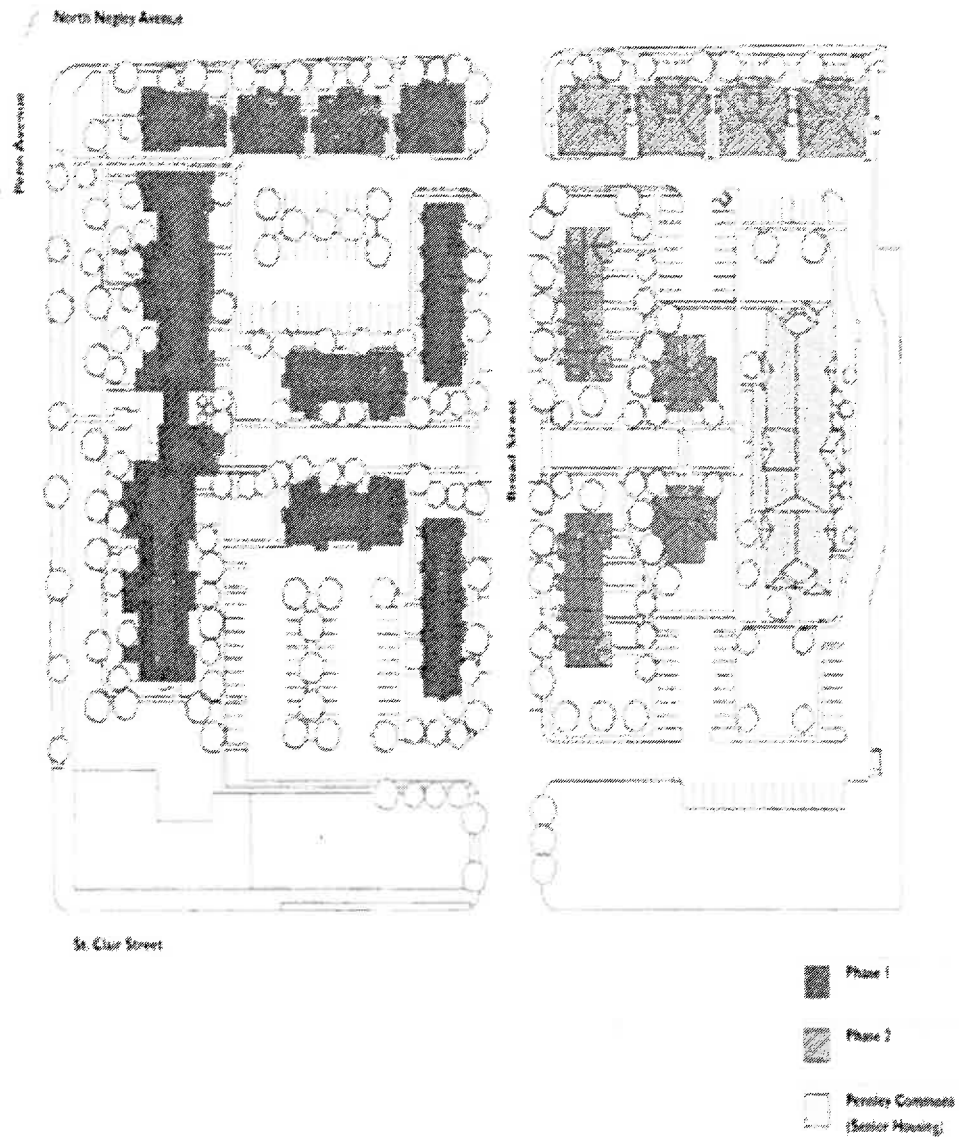


Figure 14. Niedbala, Steven. *Photograph of the East Side Complex*. 2011.



Figure 15. Niedbala, Steven. *Photograph of the East Side Complex*. 2011.

